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was one of the *pueblos* awarded to Cortés as *encomienda*.[1] After his death the village was reputedly the residence of his son, Martin Cortés; and fragments of heavy wall opposite the chapel of La Santísima are pointed out as vestiges of his house.

Tepoztlán was not the seat of resident Catholic missionaries in the first years following the Conquest.[2] The priests of Yautepec and Oaxtepec, too busy in these *pueblos* to give spiritual attention to Tepoztlán, asked the viceroy[3] to send missionaries to Tepoztlán; and some time during the third quarter of the sixteenth century this was done. The region which now forms the state of Morelos was divided into three zones, running from north to south: the western zone was intrusted to the Franciscans, the eastern to the Augustinians, and the central zone to the Dominicans. Tepoztlán fell within the central zone. The Dominicans at once began the conversion of the natives and the construction of the great church and accompanying monastery, which still stand today, little changed.[4]

The conversion of the Tepoztecos was intrusted to Fr. Domingo de la Anunciación. He was a Dominican priest of more than ordinary repute; he had taken part

[1] *Colección de documentos inéditos del Real Archivo de Indias*, XII, 554-63.

[2] A historical sketch of Tepoztlán is included by Miguel Salinas in *op. cit.* His account is based on the "Relación de Tepoztlán," just cited, on an old document then in the possession of José G. González, native and priest of Tepoztlán—two sources not directly available to the present writer—and on information supplied Salinas by residents of the *pueblo*. The historical data included in the rest of this chapter are drawn from Salinas' account.

[3] Luis de Velasco, who held office from 1550 to 1564.

[4] The González document states that the church was completed in 1588.

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175 797 [776] In one of the Spanish expeditions to Florida. Fr. Domingo undertook at once the overthrow of the patron god of the *pueblo*, Ome Tochtli, or Tepoztecatl, a deity of such importance that pilgrims came from as far as Chiapas to visit his altar. Tradition has it that he persuaded the Indians to allow him to put the power of Ome Tochtli to a test. He would hurl the figure from its eminence on the cliff above the valley; if it should be dashed into pieces the natives would acknowledge its lack of divine power. The test was carried out; the idol smashed into fragments on the rocks; these fragments were incorporated into the foundations of the Christian church. The stone cross [778] under the *ahuehuetes* around the well-watered clearing at the place known as Axihtla, at the northern edge of the *pueblo*, is supposed to mark the spot where the first baptisms took place.

175 177 [797] During the early part of the colonial period the forms of Christianity and the few important elements of Spanish material culture—iron, plow, cattle, swine, and fruit trees—became incorporated into an Indian culture that had been stripped by the *padres* of most traits of primitive ritual and belief. The *pueblo* prospered; the streets were improved, new aqueducts built, a walled garden with a bandstand erected in the central square. The first municipal government was installed in 1820. During the nineteenth century periods of prosperity alternated with periods of decline. The old documents report pestilences in 1813, 1814, 1830, and 1833. In 1839 an earthquake shook down

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APPENDIX B

TEXT OF *RELACION*

[The following is a part of the Nahuatl text of the *relación*, used at the *fiesta* Altepe-ilhuitl in September, which is spoken by the actor representing "El Tepozteco." A somewhat different version, including a short reply made in turn by each of the attacking *pueblos*, has been collected and published by Robelo.[1] The first line of the following extract is the text as I collected it, suffering from the degeneration of long traditional use and the errors of the collector. The second line is the text as "restored" by Mr. John H. Cornyn, and the third line is Mr. Cornyn's translation. Mr. Cornyn says that the text was composed in the sixteenth century "on the model of the pre-Conquest Aztec metrical poetry (and) is written in the trochaic meter." He says also that "the Tepozteco or Lord of Tepoztlán accompanied the wizards and wonderworkers of Cuernavaca summoned to Mexico City by Moctezuma II, in the hope that they might prevent the arrival of the Spanish invaders to Tenochtitlan. He was one of the first converts to Christianity. For this reason the four cities mentioned in the text, so tradition says, rose against him; but, with the help of the Virgin, he defeated them and brought their lords and nobles into the Catholic fold. This incident was taken advantage of by Fr. Domingo de la Asunción, first missionary to Tepoztlán, to convert the heathen autumn festival into a Christian feast with its accompanying miracle play to replace the old ritual." The notes which follow the text were also kindly furnished by Mr. Cornyn.—R. R.]

Aquin anmehuatin nican anhuallahque ahueli
Aquin amehuantin nican anhuallaque[2] [*o-huallaque*]? *Ahuel*[3] [*ca amo*]
Not even

Who [are] you [who] have come here?

[1] Art., "Diccionario de mitología Nahoa," pp. 228–34.

[2] *An-huallaque* for *o-huallaque*. The poets frequently left out the sign of the preterite.

[3] *Ahueli* is dialectic for *ca amo*, "not even."

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There are about fifty *politicos* in the village, drawn from various groups. Some are *cultos*, others are *ignorantes*. Most of the leaders can read and write and might qualify for what Redfield designated the *correctos*, although no such social grouping is recognized in the village. Some of the *politicos* are poor, others rich; most are Catholic, but two important ones are Protestant. Some represent the older generation, others the younger. The attitude of the villagers toward the *politicos* is ambivalent. On the one hand, *politicos* are admired for their ability and popularity; on the other hand, they are criticized for neglecting their farm work and for spending and drinking excessively. The majority of the villagers are not active in politics and are called *apartados*. The *politicos* often refer to them as "niños miedosos" (fearful children).

Within the category of *politicos* there are other distinctions made, particularly between the *caciques* or *hijos de caciques* on the one hand, and the Zapatistas and *revolucionarios* on the other. The *hijos de caciques* are the descendants of the "best" families of prerevolutionary days. The term *cacique* is also applied to anyone who opposed the Revolution, irrespective of family background. The term has become a general term of opprobrium used against political enemies, especially if they are of an independent or haughty character.

Zapatista refers to all those who took an active part in the ranks of Zapata during the Revolution. Since most of the villagers sympathized with Zapata, the term "Zapatista" is now limited to those who actually fought with the guerrilla armies. For this reason they generally speak of "an old Zapatista" to differentiate between a sympathizer and a true fighter in the cause.

The term "revolutionary" is less used in Tepoztlán than either *cacique* or Zapatista, and was imported from Mexico City. The terms "revolution" and "revolutionary" are part of the official designations of the political parties in power since the Revolution. Despite the changes in structure and ideology, the word "revolutionary" remains in the titles of the leading parties. In the time of Calles it was called Partido Nacional Revolucionario; under Cárdenas and Avila Camacho, Partido de la Revolución Mexicana; and now, Partido Revolucionario Institucional. Since Tepoztecans have become increasingly exposed to political propagandists, they have come to associate the term "revolutionary" with anyone who works for the government party in power.

RELIGION

The first awareness of a religion other than Catholicism came to Tepoztecans at about 1900 when a group of Mormon missionaries converted a few families in the village of San Andrés. In the early thirties, exposure to another religion came closer to home when about twenty Tepoztecan families became Seventh Day Adventists. The leading figure in this break with Catholicism was a Tepoztecan from the poor barrio of San Sebastián. He was an ex-Zapatista and a local leftist *politico* who had been forced to flee the village after the massacres of 1927. While in Mexico City he was converted. He returned to Tepoztlán in 1927, and by 1930 had won

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many families in his barrio to the new religion. Thus, for the first time in the history of the village there were Catholics and Protestants.

The Protestant families were ostracized and on a number of occasions their homes were stoned. The fact that the Protestants were among the poorer families, and primarily *tlacololeros*, did not add to the prestige of the new cult. In the face of the hostility against them their number dwindled. Today there are less than a dozen families who continue as Seventh Day Adventists. They have managed to adapt themselves by continuing to pay the barrio *limosnas*, supporting local fiestas, and not being too strict about keeping their Sabbath (Saturday) when working for a Catholic employer. Though no longer persecuted they still have very low status in the village. The children of these families have suffered a great deal. They are the butt of bitter comments and jokes in the school and have very few friends in the village. Nevertheless, the leader of the Seventh Day Adventists has again become active in village politics and has been accepted again by his Catholic political colleagues. This has meant a departure from Seventh Day Adventist tenets, in that he has returned to drinking and smoking. Now he says of himself, "I am half-Catholic again."

This experience with Protestantism within their own ranks has made Tepoztecans wary of outsiders who may be identified as Protestants. This was further reinforced by the establishment of the Hatch Demonstration Project under the auspices of the YMCA. The church has waged a sucessful propaganda campaign against the project, denouncing it as a Protestant missionary center working under the guise of a scientific program.

THE FAMILY

Tepoztlán is a family-centered society. The biological family consisting of parents and unmarried children constitutes the basic economic and social unit, and is by far the predominant type. The Tepoztecan family has a strong patriarchal emphasis and patrilocal residence is preferred. Families are strong, cohesive units held together by traditional bonds of loyalty, common economic strivings, mutual dependence, stability of marriage, the prospect of inheritance, and finally, the absence of other social groups to which the individual can turn in time of need. Family unity and stability is further assured by the pattern of child training and the nature of parent-child relationships, which will be discussed later.

Some Tepoztecan families work smoothly with a minimum of tensions. In others there is much conflict and tensions resulting from drunkenness of the husband, adultery of one of the spouses, sibling rivalry, favoritism on the part of the parents, and difficulties with in-laws. Even in these cases, however, the negative or disruptive aspects of family life are generally counterbalanced by the positive ones, and the family remains the strongest and most cohesive unit. Moreover, despite the many social and economic changes of recent years and the rather sharp differences between generations, we find little decline in parental authority and little evidence of family disorganization.

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Fig. 49. Ancient god of pulque.

. . . famous idol celebrated by this entire kingdom and visited by the foreigners who made pilgrimages to it and offerings which they carried from the kingdom of Chiapas and Guatemala.[2]

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The discovery of pulque, the popular intoxicating drink of the Aztecs, is attributed by legend to El Tepozteco, a Tepoztecan culture hero who was later worshipped as a god. In certain seasons of the year the cult of Ometochtli had all the characteristics of a collective orgy, celebrated in a feast called Pilhuana, at which children were intoxicated. The Codex Magliabecchiano of Florence describes it as follows:

This is the figure of a great god of intoxication that a town which is called Tepoztlán had as its rite; when a drunken Indian died the others of the town made a great feast carrying copper axes with which they cut the wood.[3]

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THE COLONIAL PERIOD

The story of the conversion of Tepoztecans to Catholicism is still conserved in village legend, and the following version was given us by a conservative and aged

[2] M. F. Agustín Dávila y Padilla, *Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1625), p. 617.

[3] *Estado de Morelos. Estudios Histórico—Económico—Fiscales Sobre los Estados de la República* (México, Secretaría de Hacienda), II (1939), 42.

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informant who was an ardent supporter of the church and claimed to be a descendant of Martín Cortés who had lived in Tepoztlán. 173 797

When the sons of the Sun [referring to the Spaniards] arrived at the place today known as Vera Cruz, some of the worshippers of Ometochtli began to waiver because the conquerors bore the Catholic religion. . . . The king and *cacique*, Tepoztecatl, an intelligent and astute man, naturally realized at once that it was the true belief. He began to weaken morally and he abandoned his subjects because he knew their beliefs were false. Then the sub-kings of Cuernavaca, Xiotepec, Yautepec, Tlayacupec, and Tlalmanalac demanded of King Tepoztecatl that he follow his former beliefs. But Tepoztecatl did not know what to tell them to convince them that the idol which they venerated was false. And he thus became an enemy of the others and they said they were going to fight him as a traitor. Now this King Tepoztecatl, learning their plans to fight, ordered his Tepoztecan subjects to place advance guards to await the enemy.

Finally the Spaniards reached Tenochtitlán and then the Tepoztecans secretly went there to learn about the new faith. Tepoztecatl was baptized there and they named him Natividad because this was on the eighth of September, and when he returned to Tepoztlán he was already a Christian. But the priest had advised him to convert his subjects amiably and with affection, that they should treat one another as brothers and that they should respect the fifth commandment of the Decalogue. This he did. He talked to all of them of the good and the bad and ordered his advance guard to suspend the bloody quarrel. When his adversaries learned of the order they came right in to where he was, not to fight but to learn about the new faith. It was at this point that there began the celebrated polemic between Tepoztecatl and his enemies. [This polemic is still conserved today and is recited, with its many variants, in the Náhuatl language during the fiesta of the eighth of September. It is called the Oration of Tepozteco.] The visitors were satisfied and asked forgiveness of Tepoztecatl. The King Natividad, formerly Tepoztecatl, gave them a warm embrace and they reciprocated and each returned to his own tribe. Natividad was highly pleased and satisfied in having complied with the task the missionaries of Tenochtitlán had given him. [796]

Natividad continued to teach all that he had learned to the natives of his own town, and when he thought they were ready to be baptized he returned to Tenochtitlán to inform the priests. He came accompanied by Dominican priests and on the following day gave their promise there on the spot of Oxibolta where today there is a stone cross mounted on a column of masonry like a historic monument. Tepoztecatl worked hard to help convert the natives. When he died he was interred in a special place called Tlaulahu and they placed a monument there. A cross was also placed at the site of Tlallacualayan where the first Mass was said.

From the above account we see that Christianity was brought to Tepoztlán with little difficulty. The alliance of Tepoztecatl with the Spaniards, whose strength aroused the awe of the natives and their leaders, facilitated a peaceful conversion. The polytheism of the ancient religions permitted a relatively easy shift from the old gods to the new, who had demonstrated their superiority by the victories of the Spaniards. But many pre-Hispanic religious elements were carried over to the new religion.

The figure of Tepoztecatl, as both El Tepozteco and Natividad, permanently 177 796

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fused old Aztec concepts with those of the Catholic Church. His figure is also confused with the god, Ometochtli, so that today he is known as El Tepozteco, god of the wind and son of the Virgin Mary. For Tepoztecans the Catholic Trinity is viewed as a combination of three distinct gods, and the cross is a magical symbol which has no relation to the death of Jesus. Tepoztecans continue to fear omens, evil spirits, and *los aires*. When they are in dire need of rain they pray to El Tepozteco for aid.

The growth of Catholicism and the church in Tepoztlán was rapid. When the first mass baptisms of the Tepoztecans occurred, no priests resided permanently in Tepoztlán, but a few years later the natives began to petition for the construction of a church in the town, since they did not want to be dependent upon the services of the priests from Yautepec or Oaxtepec. We do not know the exact date of the construction of the first church in Tepoztlán. However, in the *Relación* of 1580 we are told that the church had already been established:

> There is in this village a monastery of Dominican friars with three friars who administer the sacraments and that at the beginning they did not have any priest in this town and that they came from Yautepec and Guaxtepeque to baptize and confess the people, and that in the time of the Viceroy Luis de Velasco they asked for priests since many had died without confession and without baptism and so it was ordered that a monastery be built and the village did so at its own cost.[4]

Since the Viceroy Luis de Velasco was in office from 1550 to 1564, it must be supposed that the construction of the Tepoztecan church began during that time.

The Dominicans in Tepoztlán, while occupied in carrying out the administrative measures of the viceroy and in arousing in the natives respect for the Spanish authorities, also attempted to extirpate all pre-Hispanic cults. The Dominicans were especially vigorous in their attacks upon the native priests whom they regarded as witches, and upon the ancient idols which were instruments of the devil. One of their first objectives was to destroy the great image of Ometochtli, situated at the top of a mountain overlooking the village.[5]

Father F. Domingo de la Anunciación ordered the idol hurled over the cliff to show the natives that it could be smashed, hoping thus to destroy their faith in the power of the god. Despite the great height from which the idol fell, it remained intact. However, with the aid of prayers, exorcisms, and large hammers, the priests managed to break the stone.

According to our informants, when the idol fell it made a terrible noise which put fear into the spectators. When it did not break, alarm spread among the Indians and many would have defended their god had it not been for the presence of Spanish soldiers. After the destruction of the image, Tepoztecans lived in fear of the vengeance of the god. Tradition has it that Ometochtli ran through the streets at night crying and bemoaning the fate of the Tepoztecans at the hands of the con-

[4] *Relación*, p. 245.

[5] Remains of the temple and the stairway still exist in Tepoztlán, and attract many tourists.

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queror. His words were not threats but sad laments, "Oh, my sons, they have taken you out of my hands and I cannot help you. . . . Oh, y[illegible] poor things, that I see you outside of my palace and my abode."

The Indians heard his voice, and in fear went to Father Domingo de la Anunciación, saying that as a true father he should help his sons. He told them it was the work of the devil who, having lost, was now trying to frighten them away from the road of salvation. The Father advised the Indians to make the sign of the cross when they again heard the voice and thus to dispatch the devil.[6] The priests then placed large wooden crosses at every pathway leading to the village to keep out the god. The natives no longer reported hearing Ometochtli, but they continued to believe that he comes to the village when some calamity threatens.

The fight to eliminate aboriginal beliefs and practices continued. In an account of a Dominican priest in the late sixteenth century we learn of another incident:

> The demon was well entrenched in Tepoztlán, recognized by various kings and aided by great deceit and as a haughty man he very much resented his fall. This town had had great idols and the fame of its doctors was due to the fact that the demon had taught them the virtue of herbs so that they could deceive the rest of the people and even today despite the great care of the priests there still are found survivals of their communication with the demon as happened in my presence during this year of 1592 in the month of May.[7]

The incident referred to was as follows: The governor of Tepoztlán dedicated himself to the production of lime, burning the stone in a temporary oven; usually two days after the stone was burned, the lime was ready for use. But then it happened that despite all the burning and the passing of many days, the required lime was not produced. The governor, "who was an Indian of good understanding," suspected that it was due to some type of sorcery and he complained to the Dominicans, pointing out an Indian as the possible author of the sorcery. The Dominicans took this matter very seriously. They called in the accused, frightened him, and forced him to confess to the deed, saying that his father had given him an oration written on paper with which he could conjure at will the forces of the demon. The Dominicans immediately tried to exorcise the kiln and the stones, calling the villagers around so that they could be duly impressed by the power of the Virgin of the Rosary, to whom an invocation was made during the rites.

On the following day the rock was burned and the lime was produced. The Indian who was accused of witchcraft was punished, leaving the natives as amazed by his powers as a witch, as by the superior power of the priests. The Dominican author of this account observed that the demon had good reason to cry for having been displaced from among people over whom he had had such great influence. Even after seventy years of having been baptized into another faith, they still had pacts with him.

Slowly the Dominicans, like other religious orders in Spanish America, gathered

[6] Dávila y Padilla, *Historia*, pp. 617-18.
[7] *Ibid.*

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175 the natives into religious associations which facilitated the administrative and political functions of the colony.

797 *Cofradías* (brotherhoods) and *gremios* (societies) were organized under the auspices and protection of a saint. A *mayordomo* and other officials were chosen from among the *principales* and loyal supporters of the Crown. The system of *cofradías* had the following functions: (1) it facilitated formation of other organizations, such as cults of particular saints; (2) it simplified the collection of religious taxes; (3) it supplemented local police and helped seek out delinquents, escaped slaves, and others; (4) it aided in the collection of tribute; and (5) it provided extra companies of troops in times of emergency.

[659] The church, united as it was with the state, became very strong. Church personnel were numerous and were paid from public funds. High public officials were obliged to preside over all religious processions and ceremonies. Religious fiestas, which greatly increased church income and stimulated local trade, became very numerous during the colonial period.

THE EPOCH OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FALL OF THE DÍAZ REGIME

175 794 659 The first years of Mexican independence from Spain passed almost unnoticed in Tepoztlán, where life changed very little. The church, aided by the guarantees of the plan of Iguala, continued to be united with the new state without any major changes in its organization. As a matter of fact, after being liberated from the colonial tribute, Tepoztecans were subject to an even greater tribute by the church in the form of the forced collection of the *diezmo*, a tax whereby Tepoztecans had to pay one-tenth of their produce to the church.

The first great change in the religious life of Tepoztlán occurred during the reform period of Juárez, when church and state were separated and church property confiscated. Until this time the church in Tepoztlán, as in most of Mexico, was the institution that stood for the status quo. After Juárez, the church became an aggressive force struggling against the state and became involved in the so-called Wars of [669] the Reform, fighting against the liberal orientation of the Mexican government. While we have little specific data for Tepoztlán on this point, it may be assumed that the village was also affected and that some Tepoztecans worked through church associations against the government while others participated in the liberal ranks of the victorious party of Benito Juárez. Later, during the struggle against the Emperor Maximilian, who was blessed by the Pope and had the aid of the church, we know that liberalism had penetrated into Tepoztlán, for one of [648] Tepoztecan's sons, General Prisciliano Rodríguez, organized a column of Tepoztecans and fought heroically against invading French troops. The church had indeed lost much of its old power.

The economic revolution brought about by the amortization of the wealth of the church produced a new oligarchy which, under President Díaz, again delivered itself into the arms of the church. In Tepoztlán the new upper class, the

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did not shoot him. The morning after the battle with the Cristeros, Cortés Sedano was removed to the Cuernavaca prison and two days later was released by the governor with a warning. Cortés Sedano returned to the village and continued his religious work but abandoned the Cristero movement.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH TODAY

The church of Tepoztlán is an integral part of the structure of the Roman Catholic Church and is under the jurisdiction of a hierarchy of authorities, most of whom are outside of the municipio. Most of the characteristics of the local church are similar to Catholic churches everywhere, but a few are unique, if not to Tepoztlán, then to Mexico. For example, the Catholic Church is a highly centralized, authoritarian organization in which officials and prelates are appointed by their superiors and in which all policy is laid down by those in high positions. But in Tepoztlán, as in other Mexican villages, there is a democratic element in the election of *mayordomos* and a marked freedom in the conduct of all secular aspects of religious affairs, such as the maintenance of the barrio chapels, the celebrations of fiestas, and the collection of money for these fiestas.

Added to this type of local autonomy is the fact that the church in Tepoztlán is not a dynamic, militant organization and interferes only minimally in the private lives of the villagers. In general it is tolerant toward practices of magic, sorcery, and paganism, and toward drunkenness. Even the few Protestants have been left to go their own way. This situation is, in part, due to the passivity or disinterest of the local priest, who is himself a native Tepoztecan and tolerant of local traditions.

The arrival of a group of nuns in 1945 injected an aggressive religious attitude in the local church, for these women have actively applied pressure upon the villagers to live more Catholic lives. They have established a school to compete with the public school; they urge parents to attend services, to confess, and to have their children baptized, confirmed, and instructed in doctrine. They make frequent visits to homes, seek out those living in free union or married only by civil law and exhort them to have church marriages, and finally, they have attempted to convert several Protestants.

The complex organization of the church includes seven levels of ecclesiastic hierarchy. (See Chart 3.) The first and highest in the nation is the archbishop of Mexico. He maintains connections with Tepoztlán through the medium of circulars, pastorals, and general orders. Few if any Tepoztecans have ever seen him. Next is the bishop of Cuernavaca who is in charge of the churches in the state of Morelos. He visits Tepoztlán about once every five years, but has been seen occasionally by Tepoztecans when in Cuernavaca.

On the third level in the hierarchy is the local priest, the main figure in the central church of Tepoztlán (see Fig. 50), and the highest spiritual authority in the municipio. The fact that he is a native of Tepoztlán has facilitated his work there. Tepoztecans feel more comfortable with this priest than with all of his "foreign" predecessors, and are less inclined to complain and criticize him. His lack of

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Carmen is used widely in the village because of the numerous virtues attributed to it. It is useful to frighten away devils and other fear-inspiring beings. It also saves lives by deflecting bullets or machetes. If carried at the time of death, it insures the possibility of "dying well" and the certainty that the Virgen del Carmen will soon remove the soul from purgatory. For these reasons approximately three hundred men, women, and children customarily carry this scapulary.

e) Sagrado Corazón de Jesús celebrates Mass on the first Friday of each month in homage to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Again membership consists of thirty women. This association is considered most powerful because its members are "the best women in the village." The present president is the priest's sister.

f) Asociación de la Adoración Nocturna is made up exclusively of men. The [illegible]mbers are obliged to confess each month and keep vigil all night of the first S[illegible]day of each month, praying and giving praise to the Holy One. On the following Sunday each member takes communion. However, this society scarcely functions because the majority of the members refuse to fulfill the requirement of confession.

g) Acción Católica de Jóvenes Mexicanos consists of two sections, one for each of the sexes. There are about eighty youths and thirty girls in the organization. The members work to arouse the religious spirit of the people, to organize fiestas to raise funds, and to attract the youth to join. Under the stimulation of the nuns this organization has become extremely active. For the first time, young Tepoztecans have manifested a militant Catholicism of a modern type and have become interested in understanding the religious dogma and in recruiting new members. It is also the only religious association which has a sense of solidarity and imposes mutual obligations upon its members. Members visit each other when ill, celebrate each other's birthdays, and attend weddings and funerals.

h) Vanguardia is an association for children from seven to fourteen years of age. They are required to attend Mass, to confess, and to take communion every Sunday. Membership varies considerably during the year.

Other associations which function only once or twice a year also exist. Some of these are the Hermandád de las Ánimas which celebrates All Saints' Day on November first, the Sociedád de la Virgen de la Natividad which is in charge of preparations for the fiesta of the patron of the village on September eighth. Before the Revolution there was an Asociación de Caridad called San Vicente de Paul which distributed food and clothing to the poor. The society disappeared during the Revolution and was never reorganized.

(5) The *mayordomos*, religious leaders of the barrios, are important functionaries in connection with religious fiestas. They decide how the fiesta is to be celebrated, whether or not to have Mass sung, or to have a sermon, or to invite additional priests, and so on. They arrange for all these services, for the band of musicians, for fireworks, and for whatever else they decide to have. They frequently must spend their own funds to produce a successful fiesta. They also generally serve *mole* and tamales and *ponche* to large numbers of people.